S: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta, others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male village population group.[2]

2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930). Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood, etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting, and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses, ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is traditional, Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations, etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of

511 177 trade stores and wartime dumps. Most of the tools used regularly were purchased, but those in less constant use, such as picks, rakes, hammers and saws were mostly salvaged. The 'swimming glass' (goggles for fishing) is the only common piece of equipment not used in Sivepe.

[354] Inonda differs from Sivepe in household goods in that hurricane lamps are in common use, partly perhaps because kerosene is available at the trade store. More people own torches, which are often used when hunting by night. Mosquito nets also are far more common in Inonda (although many are in poor condition) and this in part is [415] due to a higher incidence of mosquitoes. Four households possess 44-gallon drums to collect rainwater.

511 [214] Several women make their own dresses and skirts and one has a flat-iron (which was not used during the survey). Laplaps are much less common in Inondd than in Sivepe.

The different environments of the two villages are illustrated by various items in Table 4:14.

Table 4:14

Inonda: household property derived from the subsistence sector

Household no.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Item									
Sago-beater	4	1	-	3	-	1	1	-	2
Fishing net	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Spear	3	7	-	3	2	4	3	2	2
Sleeping mat	7	3	2	2	-	2	1	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	-	20	1	-	2	-	-	5
Comb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lime pot	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
String bag	5	2	4	1	2	4	2	6	6
Drum	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Di and hambo	-*	28**	-	-**	7	-***	5	-***	-ǂ
Clay pot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

* Kept by relative in another village; quantity unknown.
** Given to household 17 by household 19 who retains right of use.
*** Some given away in exchanges, others stolen.
ǂ Unknown quantity kept by daughter in another village.

In Sivepe there are no hunting or fishing spears or fishing nets, nor are there any sago-beaters whereas most Inonda men possess both spears and sago-beaters. The greater number of tapa cloths in Sivepe is probably related to its greater distance from Popondetta, and so to the general level of acculturation. This likewise accounts for

the price at which he bought (e.g. a knife bought at 87 cents would be sold at 90 cents).

Irrespective of profits, stores are both a convenience and a source of considerable prestige to the owner.

No records of customers were kept, but from casual observation it appears that customers are either persons who are unrelated and not resident in the same locality or close kin and close friends. The more distant relatives and the residents in the owner's village often go to considerable trouble not to buy from the local entrepreneurs. They justify their avoidance with stories which depict the trader in a personally unfavourable light, though some point to the lower prices and wider range of goods in Popondetta, and others to the advantage of buying from local co-operatives which provide rebates and benefit everyone, rather than from private stores with higher prices and individual profit.

These arguments should apply equally to the customers of the entrepreneurs, but they do not seem to in practice. I assume that this is due to the fact that the entrepreneurs do provide credit, assistance with life crises and other advantages (including the attraction of close association with men of prestige) to very close friends and kin, but decline to provide these privileges to more distant kin and neighbours. These people feel entitled to special consideration and are affronted by refusal. C, the trader with the largest turnover, built his store in a village other than his own[2] and most customers come from that and three neighbouring villages. Most people of his own village of Hauau buy from a co-operative store further away. A's main clients are plantation workers, as most of his fellow villagers use the co-operative even though it involves a long walk. D's store was located on a main road until a re-routing of the road left him without his main source of clients - people walking along the road.

Since 1964, D has been buying cotton piece goods which his wife makes up on her sewing machine into skirts, dresses and shorts for sale in the store. Demand for these goods is greater than the supply and a girl is now hired part-time to assist with sewing.

A, B and D sell small quantities of garden produce or hunted meat at irregular intervals at the Popondetta market.

A undertakes commercial processing for other persons, having established a cocoa fermentary with the help of agricultural officers in 1962. The building cost $500 from his savings and an

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[1] Having limited experience in handling money most of the entrepreneurs round prices to the nearest ten cents as far as possible.

[2] The other three all have their stores adjacent to their homes.